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John Charles Fremont.

FREMONT,
BUCHANAN AND FILLMORE ;

OR,

THE PARTIES CALLED TO ORDER.

BY

A FRIEND OF FREEDOM AND PEACE.

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Page

TES

FREMONT, BUCHANAN AND FILLMORE.

It is not many years since the American Union stood like a solid, majestic rock in the midst of storms and thundering tempests, which agitated the most powerful empires and mighty nations. Not many years since, the name of American citizen was welcomed, cherished and venerated through the whole world, and it was more eagerly sought for than a title of nobility, or any privileged qualification. Without a standing army, and having almost an insignificant number of armed vessels, the representatives of our Republic were admitted and heard with marked deference at the councils of the greatest potentates of Europe. Our admirable institutions were upheld to the world as the best model of rational freedom and popular government, and our people as the best specimen of indefatigable activity, of honest industry, of daring spirit of enterprise and progress. Our tendencies for liberty, and our com-

mercial genius were liked everywhere ; and even our youthful freaks were met with smiles of indulgence. Whilst the names of Washington, Franklin and Jefferson had become like household words among all civilized people,* many big hearts in the four quarters of the earth were thrilled with joy at the doctrines proclaimed in our parliamentary halls by Monroe and his confederates, and at the words, full of encouragement and wisdom, which were occasionally falling from the lips of Clay, Calhoun and Webster. But how sadly discouraging and even humiliating is not now become, by an almost sudden downfall, the political situation of our young Republic, both at home and abroad ! And how rapidly has not the vicious working of our policy impaired recently even the moral state of our society, and degraded us in the estimation of our former friends and neighbors !

* Nothing can furnish a better proof of the general sympathy of foreign nations towards the Americans, than that eager avidity with which all sorts of publications on the United States of America, and especially the history of the War of Independence, are sought for and read by strangers. The portraits of our great men, together with the *fac-simile* of the Declaration of our Independence, can be seen almost in every town in Europe and other parts of the world. When I was travelling some years ago in the northern part of Italy, I was most agreeably surprised to find myself in a *Washington-street* (*Strada di Washington*), in a small and romantic village at the foot of the Alps, and under the Austrian dominion !

I need not hint at some atrocious acts lately perpetrated under the very eyes of the supreme magistrate of the Union, on the very threshold of the temple of Themis, and in the midst of what ancient Rome would call the *Fathers of the country*, which the glaive of justice was not able to reach, and being thus left unpunished were honored with frantic applause and lustral crowns on the part of a degenerate casté of our people. Would to God that the veil of oblivion could be thrown upon these disgraceful events, and that we might hide from the eyes of the civilized world certain deeds and scenes, which would scarcely be tolerated among wild Iroquois and Patagonians! Let us pass in silence also the many and frequent occurrences which have clearly proved that corruption and speculation have pervaded all the branches of our administration, our legislative bodies, and all the public offices in the country, and are rapidly spreading in all the walks of our society, so that the former purity of our institutions is now a subject of blush for us.

Our most essential franchises have become the prey of rapacious political gamblers*—our ballot-box has

* Our memory is still fresh about the system of fraud and corruption, which originated in Washington during the Taylor—Fillmore administration. The discoveries which led the unfortunate

been transformed into a game tool for our modern *Cagliostros* and *leger-de-mains*—and our polls are the favorite battle-field of notorious gladiators and rowdies.*

Gardiner to his tragical end, revealed to the public a plot of frauds and robberies, with which some of the nearest friends of the President were connected.

Two years ago President Pierce vetoed a bill, which Congress had passed, for the grant of a few thousand acres of land to a virtuous and philanthropic lady who had purposed to found an *Insane Asylum* for the United States on a new plan. But now the same functionary puts his signature, without a wink, to the grant of over 12,000,000 of acres of public land, given to five or six privileged companies, while on the other hand he vetoes the small and necessary appropriation to clear out our rivers and improve our ports! The way in which the public is robbed and plundered by a swarm of sharks, in connection with our unscrupulous politicians, is not a mystery to any one acquainted with the lobbies of Congress, and the State legislatures.

It is not long since the Grand Jury of the city of New York found a true bill of indictment against a notorious Judge, and made a presentment against several aldermen, councilmen, and city officers, charged with bribery, perjury, and other offences. But what was the result? The judge was *acquitted*, though with a rather unenviable recommendation from the jury ; and the prosecution against the latter was abandoned by the District Attorney, who candidly confessed, that in the present condition of affairs, he did not see the probability of attaining the ends of justice.

* The discoveries recently made by the Vigilance Committee at San

But even these evils fall almost into insignificance if we compare them with the present threatening situation of the country, provoked by the imprudent, unwise and anti-national policy adopted by the Pierce administration, in respect to the Kansas and Nebraska question. Like Pandora's box of old, this untoward question threatens to pour upon us the greatest misfortunes that may befall a nation. Effervescence of party passions, spirit of disunion, and civil war are beating at our doors; and, to our great humiliation, the same shackles and chains, which formerly served to drive negroes into bondage and servitude, are now used in Kansas to hinder white freemen from the exercise of their franchises and national rights.* The territory has been invaded by hordes of ruffians, the polls were mobbed, the legislature overthrown and dispersed by the janizaries of the central government, and records of monstrous outrages, of violations of property and of civil and political rights are daily soiling the pages of our national history. The government of Pierce has wholly abandoned

Francisco clearly reveal how the elections are conducted in every corner of our Union. How many Yankee Sullivans and Pooles do not still sway high offices, and dictate the law in our sham conventions.

* See the laws passed by the Missouri-Kansas spurious legislature.

the great national issues, and placed itself under the control of the slaveholding interests, which seem only to care for the superfetation of slavery as a political weapon to lead the whole country into contentions, and the North and the South in opposite directions.

I am no abolitionist, nor do I think one hundredth part of those who will support the election of Fremont to the Presidency are abolitionists—much less can Fremont himself be suspected by any honest man of abolitionism. I am no partisan of extreme measures, nor friendly to any doctrine having for its object to cure an existing evil by creating another, the consequences of which would certainly carry a tardy repentance on our part. But no man of sense can overlook the fact that slavery, tolerated as it is, and guaranteed by our Constitution to certain States, is not an institution of our Republic: it is a kind of hereditary leprosy entailed upon those States by another government, and so far no blame or responsibility can rest upon us.

We remember with pride the early measures of our fathers, by which, in a league with the most enlightened governments of Europe, they suppressed as immoral and inhuman the slave-trade. But how can we, with any consistency, reconcile those philanthropic enactments with a policy which tempts cupidity

and avarice by the allurements of insatiable new markets of Southern slaves? with a policy which seems disposed to extend slave labor upon an almost incommensurate area of our hemisphere, to the great detriment of the honest and laborious industry of the whole free race? Is not the government, by such a course, defeating its own purposes, and rendering nugatory the measures of former legislations? Would not our city authorities be liable to impeachment, if, having the yellow fever or the oriental plague at the Quarantine, they were to take the most stringent precautionary measures only against vessels arriving from infected ports, and at the same time allow a free communication of the Quarantine inmates and of infected individuals with the rest of the population inland of our State?

But the balance of power, and a sort of *equilibrium*, which the advocates of the Nebraska bill claim as necessary between the free and the slaveholding States, require, they say, that the South should participate in the same ratio with the other parts of the Union in the new acquisitions of territory, and have a proportionate increase of representation in the councils of the nation. I doubt whether such a specious plea can seriously and in *bona fide* be sustained, because a mere cursory look at

the map of the United States and at our statistical tables will show the complete inadmissibility of such a claim. The fifteen States where slavery is tolerated cover an area, the Columbia District included, of 851,598 square miles, with a population of white freemen of 5,222,418, out of which only 347,525 are slaveholders and constitute what they call, with their characteristic bombast, the *Southern interests*. Now these 347,525 owners of human property are represented by 90 members of the House of Representatives and 30 Senators, thus giving a representative for each 68,725 white inhabitants. If we compare numbers with the sixteen free States, we find that these do not occupy more than 612,597 square miles, with a population of nearly fourteen millions of inhabitants, who are represented by 144 members of the lower House and 32 Senators—that is to say, a representative for each 91,935 white men, thus giving to the slave representation an advantage of thirty votes in the lower House over freedom, in the proportion of the respective populations, and yet the former are wielding their influence for further increase and extension!

I do not admit any Utopia in respect to the elevation of the black race among us to the level of the white men; but at the same time no sensible man

can sympathize with those, who are trying to degrade our race to the servile condition of the negro slave.

I said enough to show the internal situation of our country under an administration imposed upon the nation by a bold and reckless *clique*, which has actually calumniated democracy by usurping its name. Let us now see what is our position in reference to our neighbors and foreign powers.

It was the *manifest destiny* of these United States of America that the countries lying between our southern boundaries and the distant term of Fire Land, mostly inhabited by descendants of the Latin race, mixed with the various aboriginal families, should voluntarily place themselves under our moral control and commercial influence, for the consolidation of their independence from European potentates, and of their internal republican institutions. Similarity of governmental forms, analogy of the circumstances under which their emancipation and ours were obtained, together with that natural good feeling, prompted by mutual comity and neighborly intercourse, had secured for us a visible and powerful preponderance in the affairs of the South American countries, both in a political and commercial point of view. The immense resources of those regions, being properly explored and developed by our

industry and spirit of enterprise, were gradually flowing to our shores to augment our comforts and wealth. Whilst on the other hand, people still bending under the yoke of foreign dominion, almost in sight of our Republic, were looking upon us as natural guardians and protectors in their strife for liberty and independence.*

But the short period of three years has been sufficient for our federal executive to scatter the brilliant horoscope of our destinies, and to destroy the most solid advantages formerly obtained by the skill, wisdom and valor of our fathers. Wherever we move now our steps out of our own country, we are looked upon with undisguised distrust, suspicion, and sometimes with open contempt. Our flag, which was formerly cheered as the faithful emblem of freedom and national progress, is now secretly watched in foreign ports and at sea, lest it should cover a cargo of slaves or an expedition of filibusters. Our fellow citizens are trapped and hunted up in Central America, fired at and massacred at Panama, in Peru, and

* We refer those who wish to know how the liberals of Cuba feel at present towards us, to a certain correspondence which took place some time ago, between General Quitman and a member of the *Junta Cubana*, and to other publications, in which the government of Washington is openly accused of certain matters of *espionage*, which were the cause of the tragical death of Pinto.

on the Amazon river; and when they arrive at Havana it is only by mere condescendence that the local authorities extend to them the same privileges and facilities which are unhesitatingly granted to foreigners of other countries. Even the official character is no shield any more for our countrymen, against the hostile demonstrations of foreigners.

I need not mention the treatment received by Soulé on his return from Ostend to Spain, at the hands of the French police, and how our military commissioners sent to the Crimea were, on their way home, unceremoniously dismissed by the minister of war of the Emperor of France.* But it is a subject

* However mortifying for the United States government may have been this unfortunate occurrence, we must confess it was not entirely unjustifiable on the part of the offending party. It is well known to all persons conversant with military affairs how jealous all the governments are in respect to their defences and fortified posts, which are generally guarded with extreme watchfulness and secrecy, especially in time of war. It was then more than imprudent the demand of the American commissioners to survey certain forts in the neighborhood of Paris, whilst, notwithstanding our strict neutrality, the sympathies of our people were visibly enlisted in favor of Russia. It was said also, at that time, that the same commissioners, whilst in Russia, had been rather too free in their conversations and talks about France, which the secret agents of the French police had not been slow in conveying from St. Petersburg to the ears of the Prefect of Police at Paris. In short, our commissioners were looked upon in Paris as secret emissaries, or the friends of the Russians.

worthy of reflection, the fact that in South and Central America we can scarcely name one of our consuls or diplomatic representatives, that has not in some way been exposed to troubles, insults, and sometimes to imprisonment. Can we accuse of all these disgraceful proceedings the particular irritability, the special idiosyncrasy and want of courtesy of the inhabitants of those countries? But the spirit of hospitality and good disposition of those same people, are known and appreciated by all the travellers who visit them. And then, how is it that nothing of this kind happens to the thousands and thousands of Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Italians, who either visit those opulent regions, or settle there for the pursuit of their commercial enterprises? The true and immediate cause of such unpleasant occurrences can only be traced in the injudicious choice made by the present administration of our officials abroad, whose nominations, we recollect, were met at the time with manifest disapprobation by our public, reluctantly sanctioned by the Senate, and some of them decidedly refused by the powers to which they were appointed.*

* To one of the most important posts of our diplomacy, Central America, Pierce had sent the notorious *Borland*, formerly, and now again a quack doctor and a pill-maker. His only exploit worth mentioning was the murder of a poor inoffensive fisherman, shot by Cap-

The doctrines freely and publicly propounded by many of those political agents, and boldly sustained by the government press, that we have the right to

tain Smith at the instigation of this great diplomatist, and the subsequent destruction of Greytown for the imperishable glory of our name. For the legation of Spain, where the solution of many delicate and highly important questions would have required a man of great experience and skill, of courteous and conciliatory manners, and particularly acceptable to the Court of Madrid, was chosen the celebrated *Soulé*, whose filibustering propensities and acrimonious feelings towards the Spaniards were as notorious as many other circumstances of his public and private life. The result was, that, after having fought a couple of duels and kicked up half a dozen rows in Madrid, and after having passed through a labyrinth of spies, *gens-d'armes*, and police agents in France, he returned home just as wise as he was before, and without accomplishing any adjustment of the pending questions. *Mason* of Virginia was sent to Paris, and the only claim to celebrity which he acquired at the imperial court is a certain *bon mot* which the presence of the Haytien Envoy at the Tuileries prompted from the lips of our negro-driving ambassador. However, the place where the good-natured *Mason* tried to be witty, and the fact that the colored diplomatist was there on *equal footing* with the American minister, destroy half the merit of the joke. *Buchanan's* presence in London during a period of nearly three years, would have passed almost unnoticed without the notoriety given to him by that sublime piece of insanity known as the *Ostend Manifesto*. It is an unquestionable fact, that the fame of his diplomatic skill has not been enhanced at all by his mission to England. The Central American question, and other important subjects, which he had assumed the task to bring to a close, were left to his successor for settlement. It was a good luck for us, that his return to

take from another nation whatever may be useful to us, peaceably if we can, and forcibly if necessary, are totally at variance with those principles of distribu-

America preceded Mr. Crampton's dismissal from Washington, or that matter would have been worse. The last, but not the least, in this diplomatic batch comes our good and amiable *George Saunders*. This gentleman had been appointed, in appearance, Consul to London, but in reality he was plenipotentiary to the court of the allied powers, Kossuth, Ledru Rollin, and Mazzini. But as he found out, although too late, that those gentlemen, though great and pure patriots, were *sectional*, *very sectional*, and had no mandate from their respective countries either to represent them, or to treat with Young America, he left also his post and his friends without attaining any material advantage for us. But his renown as a public man will be everlasting in the annals of European diplomacy, as his thundering letters to the French democrats, and to the Executive Directory of the Swiss Republic, will always stand as eminent as the pyramids on the vast plains of the Nile.

But even there, with his bosom friends and sympathizers, poor George met with an unexpected *échec*. Mazzini whose notions of Democracy are not exactly in accordance with the slave-driving principles of Brooks, Toombs and compeers, committed the great indiscretion of publishing a certain article not quite palatable to the apostles of the Kansas and Nebraska bill. The thundering pen of Saunders was not slow to give to the Roman triumvir a serious rebuke. Mazzini was then absent from London on an *exploring excursion*, and by his default brother Kossuth undertook to throw water

tive justice—of coventional law—and international security, by which all civilized people are ruled and governed. Nor less dangerous and objectionable is the doctrine that we may force into the path of useful reforms and better institutions our neighbors, who, it matters not in what degree they stand in the sphere of civilization and knowledge, still they feel that they are masters at home, and are not yet inclined to adopt our laws, our customs and usages. They also have some notions of *Know-nothingism*, in their own country. Have we the right to make them feel and act to the contrary?

Therefore, when that stupendous Ostend Manifesto

on the fire, and to appease the ire of the Kentuckian Democrat; but Mazzini, who does not easily compromise in matters of political creed, tore off all the patching of the skillful Magyar, and made even stronger protestations against the Democratic slave-holding doctrines of America. Saunders was then packing up his tent to come back for the preparations of a new campaign; he bade good-bye to his European cousins, and told them, that foreigners do not understand anything of the *peculiar* institutions of America. The other appointments to foreign missions were all, with very few exceptions, made with the same spirit, and total want of tact. *Daniels*, sent to Turin, where his nomination had been found at first rather objectionable, published, after a short residence in Piedmont, in the *Richmond Enquirer*, some rather strange and shabby notions about Italian women, whose breath, he said, smells garlick. The Italian ladies call *Daniels* a Mrs. Trollope in breeches!

transpired in the political circles of Europe, it made the hearts of many despots glad, and the spirits of many liberals sad, as it was taken as a visible sign of the downfall of our Republic, and a manifest repudiation of the fundamental principles, upon which our glorious fathers had cemented our progressive prosperity and greatness. It was most explicitly shown in that untoward declaration, that, more than extension of territory, we aimed, by the acquisition or conquest of Cuba, at the perpetuation, safety, and furtherance of that *peculiar institution*, which only a spurious democracy knows how to appreciate, SLAVERY.

I will now ask any impartial man, any man of sense, if such doctrines so barefacedly proclaimed and upheld before the world, do not tend to tarnish the good name and reputation of our beloved country, and to render suspicious all our professions of good faith and regard for the liberty of mankind? Is it not thus, that we have lost what was more precious for us than any alliance, the sympathies of all foreign nations? *

* One of the most accredited newspapers of Europe (Le Constitutionnel), in a very judicious article upon our affairs, was recently observing, that nothing had served more efficiently the cause of monarchy, and cooled down the enthusiasm of the republicans of Europe, than the policy of our present government both at home and abroad.

But the measure of our evils was not yet filled, and our shame was to be accomplished by another bold and most impudent attempt at our degradation on the part of the very framers of our misfortunes. Instead of falling upon their knees, and covering with both hands their faces, and asking pardon of God, these same men have now the audacity to come forward before the people and recommend, as their favorite candidate for the next presidential election, that same James Buchanan, the very author of the Ostend Manifesto, who pledges his faith to the monstrous platform of the Cincinnati Convention, which is itself nothing but a mere sanction of the Pierce policy, and a *vote de confiance* in the present administration. However, I do not see what claim can the Cincinnati Convention have to the support of the American people, and, in fact, what right have all these conventions to substitute to the unbiased judgment of the nation, the ambitious views and decisions of intriguing politicians? The greatest and soundest part of the American people disclaim and repel this vicious method of indirect election through conventions and delegations. The system of our government is based upon principles of popular sovereignty, and of pure representation ; it cannot be converted into a scheme for personal aggrandizement, under the operation of which

merit is proscribed, faithful service an objection, and integrity ridiculed and persecuted. We cannot countenance a combination of politicians to rule the people of the United States—to possess themselves of the public offices—to exclude faithful and efficient servants for the exaltation of intriguers and gamblers. The people of the United States have reached their age of reason; they can govern their own affairs without the assistance of a camarilla, or the guardianship of a regency. Who will then vote for James Buchanan as President of the United States? Who will support a man, who, after having unreservedly endorsed the Cincinnati platform,* is in duty bound to carry into effect, if elected, all its schemes, and preposterous doctrines? With Buchanan in the presidential chair, we shall have not only a faithful continuation of Pierce's policy, but we shall most probably see accomplished other projects, which the natural indecision of the latter was not able to carry to perfection. We shall have troubles and civil war at home, filibusterism and depredations abroad, and as a corollary of all these evils, the greatest misfor-

* We must refer our readers to Mr. Buchanan's speech or letter of acceptance of his nomination: "I am not James Buchanan, any more," he says, "I am the Cincinnati platform." We give him credit for his modesty, and think he will keep his promise if he is elected.

tune that may befall a commercial nation, war with foreign powers.*

It is impossible for any reasoning man to think that our neighbors, whatever may be the language they speak, or the hue of their skin, may always look with indifference and apathy upon our schemes of territorial aggrandizement and unceasing attempts to take from them what they have inherited from their ancestors, their soil and their independence. Besides the difference of races, nature itself has separated them from us with certain barriers which it would be imprudent and impossible to go beyond. Nor is it to be supposed that the great powers of Europe, for which it is a vital interest to maintain a kind of *equilibrium* among all the nations and potentates of the world, will overlook the reckless projects of an unjustifiable ambition. And in case of any difficulty

* Those, who treat with a kind of scorn the idea of a war with foreign powers, do certainly underrate the immense military resources which our enemies can command at a moment's notice, and overlook the entire inefficiency of our miniature army and national navy. Our coast, and our best harbors are wholly unprotected, and our defences in a state of abandonment. Add to this, that in less than six months of war, all our agricultural and commercial resources would be completely ruined, and we would be overburdened with an immense surplus of population, most of foreign origin, which would be left without employment and without food.

and of warlike demonstrations on the part of European maritime powers, I would respectfully ask our Southern democrats, who would suffer the most? Where would Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas find markets for their tobacco, cotton, rice, and naval stores?

However, all those whose interests have been created or enhanced by the present regime, all those for whom official patronage, corruption, exaction, and speculation have been an inexhaustible source of wealth, will and must give their votes for Buchanan. The 350,000 slave-owners, slave-drivers, and slave-dealers, for whom this bogus democracy is opening new markets; for whose interest draconian laws are made in the so-called Legislature of Kansas, which would put to blush the most sanguinary despot, will certainly make the mightiest efforts to drive the southern voters in favor of Buchanan; and where the usual means of persuasion may fail, they will resort, as their press is daily insinuating, to more efficient and forcible ways.

But the 350,000 slave-holders have not the exclusive privilege to dispose of the whole vote of the Southern States. There are also 528,000 voters whose interests and views, if not openly opposed, are in no way identified with slavery. There also we have

friends, having big hearts, and minds clear of all prejudices. They love this American fatherland as well as they do their home, and they do not see why their own welfare and the prosperity of the whole country should be compromised by the unreasonable preferences and silly stubbornness of the slave-holding minority. There are in Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, and even in Mississippi, independent people, who keep aloof from all party squabbles, and are not willing to support the ultra-niggerism and filibustering tendencies of the Cincinnati platform. These men begin to see that the conservative Southern party can safely join their Northern brethren in the Fremont movement, and thus obtain a wholesome reform of present abuses and evils, in spite of the Southern landed aristocracy.

There is another class, whose importance consists only in its number, which, out of distorted views of sectional interest, will go for Buchanan. I mean a large portion, certainly the less respectable and less enlightened part of naturalized citizens, either Irish or Germans. Many of them have left their native country under rather unfavorable circumstances, or were compelled to leave it by their respective governments, for which they profess the most cordial hatred. They have no love for our country, whose

allegiance they have adopted as a mere matter of expediency. Their constant aim is to make their adopted country subservient to their particular designs. A war with England, or with any other power of Europe, would be music to their ears. They care very little for the internal concerns of a country in which they are strangers, and are cheerfully ready to sacrifice anything for the chances of a war against their original foes. Therefore, whenever they are called to participate in our national issues, we are certain to find them on the side of mischief. They will always espouse that cause that forebodes trouble. But fortunately these individuals form only a class and unimportant section of the large mass of our citizens of foreign birth, whose interests, views, and sentiments are completely identified with the general welfare and prosperity of the Union. Enlightened emigrants and all respectable naturalized citizens know very well, that the efforts of the republican party lead to raise, improve and benefit them from the competition of slave-labor ; to place them in a society in which labor is honored and not despised, and to shield them against the avaricious attempts of a despicable landed aristocracy, whose manifest aim is to reduce the free white laborer to the same degraded condition as their negro

slaves, and perhaps worse. Only on men like these, can civilization and freedom confidently rely, and their support is already secured for our cause.

Another party, whose original aims and views would have been cheerfully adopted by the immense majority of our people, if bigotry and the most intolerant spirit of exclusiveness had not reduced it to the small proportions of a sect, proposed, through a convention of its leaders held in Philadelphia, Millard Fillmore, as their candidate for the next presidency.*

Fillmore is, we know, a perfect model of the American gentleman, both in morals and in manners. He has always borne among us an unblemished reputation for honesty and frankness. But how could the majority of the nation accept the candidate of a sect, whose resolutions are made in the darkness of its councils, and which, like the ardent chamber of Westphalia, and the congregations of the *Saintfaithists* are mysteriously wrapped up in a shroud of secret ceremonies? Our people at large, and the nature of

* The nomination by the *Know-Nothing* Convention, of Philadelphia, reached Mr. Fillmore when he was a favorite guest at the court of the Pope, and an occasional visitor of Cardinal Antonelli, and of the General of the Jesuits. We only make this remark for the edification of certain novel makers, who have recently enriched our literature with the most amusing stories in respect to Fremont's religion.

our institutions, are opposed altogether to such forms of mummery, and feel diffident at everything that shrinks from the public eye.

Besides, it cannot be contradicted that the system of (see the first part of note page 7) bribery and corruption began to take root among us during Mr. Fillmore's administration, whose characteristic good-nature and complaisantness led him also to sign that untoward *Fugitive Slave Law*, and to endorse, in his Albany speech, the policy followed by the present administration in the Kansas affair.

But if the parties represented by Buchanan and Fillmore are both, more or less, spotted with the same leprosy of unscrupulous selfish ambition and corruption, we have the power in our hands to *draw fresh life from the fountain-head of that safety and freedom, from which we have departed.*

The nomination of Col. John C. Fremont for the Presidency, did not come from the midst of the Republican, or as they call it, the *black* Republican Convention ; it came originally from the independent part of the people, and the independent press ; the Republican convention received it from the people with acclamation and enthusiasm, and the language in which this worthy candidate accepted his nomination, gives us a sufficient guarantee that the people

will not be disappointed in their judgments. "I humbly concur," he says, "with all movements which have for their object to repair the mischief arising from the violation of the Missouri compromise. I am opposed to slavery in the abstract, and upon principle made habitual by a long settled conviction. While I feel inflexible in the belief that it ought not to be interfered with where it exists under the shield of State Sovereignty, I am inflexibly opposed to its extension."

So far Fremont's words can be neither clearer nor more satisfactory, both to the friends of liberty and to the slave-owners themselves. At the same time, Mr. Fremont, as President of the United States, will not interfere with slavery where it now exists, nor with the fugitive slave law, nor with the internal traffic of slaves. What more do the Southern slaveholders pretend from him and us? Nor is Mr. Fremont less explicit and frank when he manifests his views in reference to our foreign policy, being openly opposed to all schemes of illegal and forcible territorial expansion to the detriment of our neighbors, and for the exclusive benefit of Southern slaveholders. Therefore we can already see, that the patriotic response of Col. Fremont to his nomination for the next Presidency is calculated to reinstate once more

the American nation in its former position in the hearts of foreign nations, and to heal the bad sores left upon our national character by a demoralized set of political speculators.

And while the friends of Fillmore have joined the partisans of Buchanan in a monstrous alliance to assail, in the vilest manner, and with the most cowardly weapons, the friend and companion of Humboldt, the most courageous and indefatigable explorer of our territories and of California, the learned and conscientious patriot and politician, scarcely a foreign newspaper comes to us from Europe, that does not applaud most sincerely our efforts to elect Fremont to the Presidency.

And I must repeat it again : Fremont is not exclusively the candidate of the free-soilers of the Philadelphia Convention. That convention was almost obliged to receive him from the immense majority of independent people. He is the candidate of the true Democrats, of honest Whigs, of the Know Nothings, of both native and naturalized citizens, no matter whether they go to mass, or if they read the Bible or the Talmud, he is the candidate of all those who are opposed to the perpetuation of the present shameful administration ; and the schemes of his future government comprehend a vast schedule of reforms and

improvements highly required for the purification of our public concerns. Therefore it is no wonder, if, in view of a general popular movement involving a mighty and efficacious revolution, we find a host of old political hacks clinging to the skirts of Buchanan and Fillmore, in preference to the support of this fresh regeneration of our republican institutions.*

This salutary movement will certainly throw off the landmarks of our old parties, and destroy the corrupt cliques and petty regencies which have of late been monopolizing the public revenue, as well as all the branches of our administration. Let us then prepare ourselves like men and tried champions of liberty for the great struggle which will either perpetuate a past full of miseries, and bring us a stormy and gloomy future, or which will be a new triumph of reason on stubborn ignorance; of rational freedom on slave-holding intrusion and prepotency. This is not a question of men, or of a mere candidate; no, it is a question involving the most vital principles—a question of progress or of retrogression for all mankind. The whole world has its

* The last case illustrating the spirit of resistance of old fogysm against the Fremont movement, is the reported enlistment of Clayton under the banner of Forney: it is the embrace of the Trojans with the Tyrians!

eyes turned upon us, anxious to see whether we have the power to regenerate the political condition of the country, or if the audacious power of a contemptible oligarchy has to be enthroned over the graves of Washington and Jackson! But the Union will be dissolved, say very clamorously our opponents, if Fremont is elected; and both Fillmore and Buchanan have, in their turn, assured the American people that, unless one of them is elected to the presidential chair, the great confederacy of our States will be at an end. Oh! marvellous piece of modesty and self-denial on the part of such great patriots! Behold them, with the rope around their necks, and enveloped in sackcloth, come forward and offer themselves as voluntary victims for the good of the country! They, only they can save the Union from threatening dissolution and ruin! But we are confident and certain that there are other patriots in America endowed with purer hearts and more liberal minds, who will save our glorious Constitution from being torn leaf by leaf by sacrilegious innovators, and defend our Union as long as they have arms and hands; and if these be broken or cut off, they will defend it with their breasts, and Fremont will be the leader of the unconquerable phalanx!

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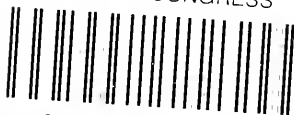
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